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ABSTRACT

Intent on alerting curriculum developers to cyclical elements in social studies trends during the last 90 years, this paper reviews the two most pervasive national movements at the secondary level: 1) the source study movement in which students' use of primary source materials was emphasized in history instruction from the 1880's through the 1910's; and, 2) the core curriculum movement in which Social Studies and English were most commonly combined into block time courses for all students from the 1920's through the 1950's. These movements were selected for review because they exhibited some of the most important characteristics of the new social studies of the 1960's and of the social studies emerging in the 1970's. The latter reforms are considered comparable to the core curriculum just as the reforms of the 1960's are to the scientific historiography of the source study movement. The reviews include discussions of the forces which produced, sustained, and ended them, and conceptual models for classifying and comparing them to their recent and future variations. Historically, curriculum reformers gave little attention to previous movements, whether similar or not. Citing this as a dysfunctional inconsistency for the social scientists and educators who advocate and lead reform movements, the author calls for a variety of studies in Social Studies history. Sources cited are annotated in a six-page bibliography. (Author/DJB)

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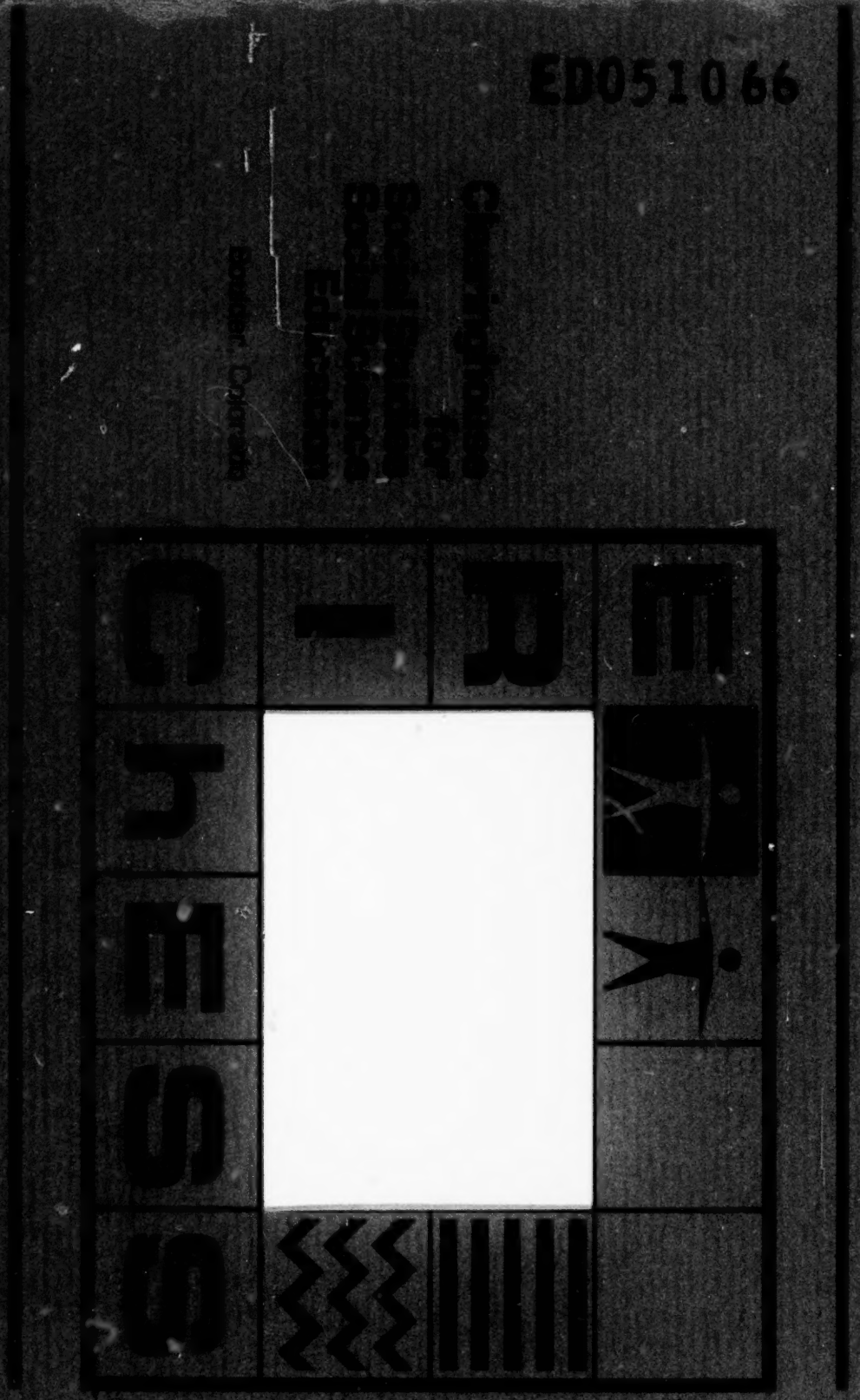

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HISTORICAL PARALLELS FOR THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES: PRIMARY SOURCES AND CORE CURRICULUM REVISITED

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FOREWORD

The 1970 SSEC Invitational Conference was entitled "Lessons from the Sixties, Wisdom for the Seventies." It was apparent that important lessons could be drawn from a historical perspective of earlier movements in the teaching of history and the social studies.

Hazel Hertzberg played a prominent role in that conference. We asked her to review the "primary sources" movement in the teaching of history and the evolution of the social studies and the Core curriculum movement. We believe that this paper contributes a valuable perspective on the growth of new social studies in the sixties and further changes being called for in the seventies.

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April 1971

HISTORICAL PARALLELS FOR THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES:

PRIMARY SOURCES AND CORE CURRICULUM REVISITED

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The "new social studies" movement which dominated social studies reform in the sixties now seems to have run its course as an initiator of change. The movement arose after a decade of attack on American schools as anti-intellectual, mindlessly oriented to life-adjustment, neglectful of the able student, contemptuous of excellence, and filled with incompetent teachers untrained in their subject matter who plodded through curricula invented by fuzzy-minded educationists. With Sputnik, this indictment became a matter of urgent national concern. Movements were launched for reform of the teaching of mathematics, science, and foreign languages, and in their wake followed the "new social studies," which adopted many of their ideas and organizational patterns.

By the end of the sixties, the direction of reform in the schools and in society had changed. The schools--and the new social studies--were again under attack, this time as hopelessly removed from real life; neglectful of slower students, the poor, the blacks, and other ethnic groups; contemptuous of the agony of the present; oblivious to the need for social reform; and filled with incompetent teachers untrained in the culture of their students, plodding through irrelevant curricula invented by ivory-tower university professors.

A new movement for the reform of the social studies--a movement as yet unnamed--has grown out of this indictment and is part of a much larger and more powerful trend in education. As the new social studies represented a response to major social and educational concerns of the fifties, so the newer movement arose out of major social and educational concerns of the sixties. Many of its

characteristics are already well developed: the emphasis on relevance and the immersion in the immediate here and now; the commitment to social action; the stress on interpersonal relations; the involvement of students in deciding what to study; the impatience with traditional disciplines, and the attempt to integrate or fuse them. In the social studies, these trends now have the pioneering cachet once associated with the new social studies. As they gain strength, the new social studies movement seems to be passing into history.

The Urgent Need for a History of the Social Studies

Or such would be the case if the social studies had a history. The social studies are extraordinarily rich in the raw materials of history--the sources upon which histories could be based--but extraordinarily poor in historical accounts and interpretations. The evolution of the social studies has remained largely neglected as a subject of historical inquiry. There are a number of short summaries of the development of the field or of special aspects of it, usually offered as a background for the discussion of a current problem, and histories of education also refer to it. But in the social studies historians have been activists rather than recorders and interpreters of the historical dimensions of their own activities. In this they differ little from the practitioners of the other disciplines: there are few geographical, economic, political, sociological, or anthropological investigations of the field.

The past of the social studies lives not as written history but as a kind of academic folklore: people acquire a sense of development and change from their own experience and from hearing the tales of their elders. It is thus possible for major movements to run their course and disappear from current consciousness, continuing to affect present behavior in ways largely unrecognized, while the records and artifacts of such movements are gradually forgotten. If this pattern repeats itself, the new social studies could

vanish into oblivion, its rich and varied experiences forgotten, living a dim half-life only in the memories of its former leaders.

Perhaps this historical amnesia accounts for the fact that many proponents of both the new social studies movement and of the newer trends which are superseding it believe that they have discovered educational principles and methods virtually unheard of--or at least untried--before. Yet a knowledge of similar movements in the past could have provided a different take-off point for contemporary reforms, which might then have begun where others had left off, taking advantage of the resources, methods, and materials which had previously been developed, and learning from earlier successes and failures.

In a time of transition such as the present, an historical view can be especially helpful. It seems appropriate, in assessing the last decade of work and looking forward to the next, to provide some historical perspective. The available sources are too voluminous to permit a thorough historical review in this brief paper. I therefore decided to identify several movements in the secondary schools which exhibited some of the most important characteristics of the new social studies and of the social studies now emerging, to sketch their development, and to attempt to place them in a larger social setting, knowing that such an effort must necessarily be tentative and based on only a rapid and partial survey of the sources.

Most of this paper is devoted to a review of two major themes in social studies: the use of primary sources, which played a prominent role for about 30 years, beginning in the 1880s, and the "Core" curriculum, which was also an important influence for about three decades, beginning in the 1920s. A brief review of the origins of the field of social studies as we know it today, necessary for the continuity of the story, will be found midway through the paper. Brief comments at the end show the significance of this historical review to recent and current trends in social studies.

Advocacy and Use of Primary Sources, 1880-1900

A venerable predecessor of the new social studies was the movement beginning in the 1880s in which the secondary school pupil practiced some of the methods of the historian in working with original sources. This type of instruction was modeled after that developed by the great German scientific historian Leopold von Ranke in the German "Seminarium." The seminary or seminar in history was introduced into the American college by Professor Charles Kendall Adams of the University of Michigan, who had studied in Germany. One of Adams' students was Mary D. Sheldon, the daughter of the Herbartion founder of the famous Oswego Normal School in New York State. She adapted the source method to the teaching of history in college at Wellesley and Oswego and also to the secondary school. Mary Sheldon (who became Mary Sheldon-Barnes when she married) was one of the most original pedagogues of her generation. Her book, Studies in Historical Method (1896), one of several important methods books published in the period, is still valuable. The section on the development of the "historic sense" in children is especially interesting. Between 1885 and 1891, she published three collections of primary sources for the secondary school, covering the three historical courses most commonly taught: Studies in General History (1000 B.C. to 1880 A.D.), Studies in Greek and Roman History, and Studies in American History.

Sheldon-Barnes urged the teacher to

> give the student a little collection of historic data, and extracts from contemporary sources, together with a few questions within his power to answer from these materials. Then let him go by himself, like Agassiz's famous student with the fish, to see what he can see. The work of the classroom is to collect, criticise, and summarize the individual results into those same general statements which, after all, must finally remain in the mind, but which must depend for their living reality on the special fact. (Sheldon-Barnes 1896, p. 135)

In the early nineties, the use of primary sources in the classroom was endorsed by the influential Madison Conference on History, Civil Government,

and Political Economy, a sub-group of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies of the National Education Association, which conducted the first major review of the entire secondary school curriculum. The chairman of the Madison Conference was Charles Kendall Adams, while its members included such eminent historians as Albert Bushnell Hart, Woodrow Wilson, and James Harvey Robinson. The conference members declared that

> [n]o part of historical education does so much to train the pupils as the search for material, the weighing of evidence, and the combining of results thus obtained in a statement put into a form useful to other persons. Collections of suitable material [primary sources] are already numerous, and are rapidly increasing. (Committee of Ten 1893, p. 197)

The use of sources was recommended for its broad educational value, the committee explained, and not in the expectation that students would or should become historians.

During the rest of the decade of the nineties, the use of sources spread rapidly, becoming most firmly established in New England high schools and to a somewhat lesser degree in western ones. (Committee of Seven 1899, p. 146) In Nebraska a vigorous source study movement flourished through the united efforts of the State University, the State Education Department, and the State Teachers Association. The most influential leader of the Nebraska movement was Professor Fred Morrow Fling, a former New England high school teacher who had studied in the German Seminarium and who used the Sheldon-Barnes texts. Fling employed the method to train teachers at the University of Nebraska. In his version, source study was the central focus of the study of history in the secondary schools, involving a rigid series of steps by which the student evaluated the sources and eventually composed a narrative from them. (See Smolens 1970. This study is the first intensive investigation of the movement and is largely restricted to Nebraska. Studies of source study in other regions would be most valuable.) Such an approach was evidently sufficiently widespread to evoke

a considerable reaction, as a survey of history in the secondary schools undertaken by a committee of the American Historical Assocation (AHA) reported:

> Nearly half [the principals of the schools surveyed] do not favor it, and some who like it have not sufficient books. The objections appear to be: first, that it is a time-consuming method; second, that it throws upon the pupils an undue responsibility beyond their years and understanding; and third, that it is "an attempt to foist upon the preparatory student the work of the university specialist." (Committee of Seven 1899, pp. 146-47)

Continuing Focus on Primary Sources, 1900-1920

The 1899 Report of the AHA's Committee of Seven exerted a profound influence on the social studies curriculum for years to come. It endorsed the use of sources as "adjuncts to good text-book work, as something which may be used for collateral reading and may also form the basis of some of the written work." (Committee of Seven 1899, p. 107) Not only written sources but also actual remains or reproductions of them, as well as models, photographs, engravings, and museum collections should be used in instruction, the committee urged.

> To the child, such work [with the sources] is as fresh as though it had never been undertaken by another mind. In comparing the statements of various sources and arriving at conclusions from taking them together, the pupil gets a valuable training of judgment. He must not suppose that he is making history, or that his results are comparable to those of the trained historian; but he may have an intellectual enjoyment of the same kind as that of the historical writer. (Committee of Seven 1899, p. 107)

The committee warned that too exclusive a reliance on the sources results in generalizations based on insufficient evidence, that "inexperienced and immature minds" could not be expected to "form correct notions without some systematic survey of the field," and that

> [i]t is only in limited fields, where a large mass of material can be examined and sifted, that historians and teachers can safely rely for their information entirely on sources, and even there they may find it useful to refer to the secondary work of other writers for new points of view. (Committee of Seven 1899, pp. 101-02)

For the next two decades the use of sources in secondary school instruction seems to have been fairly widespread. An important contributing factor was the organization of a number of local, state, and regional history teachers' associations through the combined efforts of teachers from secondary schools, normal schools, and colleges and universities, evidently as a direct outgrowth of the work of the Committee of Seven. Many distinguished historians participated in these efforts--men like Charles M. Andrews, Sidney B. Fay, Frederick Jackson Turner, Carleton J. H. Hayes, Frederic L. Paxson, and Charles A. Beard. Some of the associations produced syllabi which incorporated source use. The historical method was frequently discussed at association conferences.

Source use got another assist from an influential new periodical. The History Teachers Magazine, the grandparent of Social Education, was founded in 1909 in the "interests of teachers of History, Civics, and related subjects in the fields of Geography and Economics." It contained many articles reporting on the use of sources in the classroom, published source extracts and reviews of source books, and advocated the use of different types of historical materials, including objects, models, pictures, charts, photographs, stereographs, and lantern slides. (See, for example, the description of an exhibit at Columbia Teachers College, held in connection with the annual AHA meeting, in the February 1910 issue of the magazine, pp. 119-24.) In 1911 the periodical, which had found itself in financial difficulties, was taken over by the AHA and thereafter operated under the aegis of a committee headed by Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers College, Columbia.

Johnson was one of the leaders in the use of primary sources in instruction. His textbook, The Teaching of History, first published in 1915, had the use of sources as a major focus. It proved to be one of the most durable in the social studies, the last edition being brought out in 1940. Johnson's famous methods course, which required the student to solve a series of specific

historical problems using primary sources, also proved exceedingly durable. Generations of leaders in social studies education were trained in it, both by Johnson and by Professors Erling M. Hunt and Alice W. Spieseke. A contemporary version is still a required course for students in Columbia Teachers College's Department of Social Studies today.

No doubt Johnson's commitment to the use of a wide variety of primary materials, such as objects, pictures, and the like, accounts in part for the attention given in the magazine to the development of the "history laboratory," also called the "history workshop," and occasionally "the seminar." This was a room set aside for the study of history and equipped with maps, models, reference books, magazines, newspapers, and work tables. An extensive report on the well-equipped history laboratory at Emerson High School in Gary, Indiana, in 1916, which included a description of history "games" such as "Explorers," the "Game of Colonies," and the "Revolutionary Game," was only one of many appearing in the magazine. (History Teachers Magazine, December 1910, pp. 112-21) The history laboratory also spread to the colleges, whose introductory history courses were frequently described in the periodical. (The April 1917 issue contains a description by Henry R. Shipman of the history laboratory at Princeton, on pages 122-23.)

Many proponents of the use of sources--including pioneers like Mary Sheldon-Barnes--favored the application of the source method to contemporary history. This was held to be desirable, partly because the sources were readily available (local history was also advocated on these grounds) and partly because it was believed necessary to train students in the exercise of reasoned judgment about contemporary affairs. The use of sources thus fit in nicely with the growing attention in the second decade of this century to the teaching of civics, clearly an expression of the reform impulses of the Progressive Era.

Advocacy of the Social Sciences, 1916-19

Instruction in civics was far different in the period immediately preceding World War I than it had been earlier, reported a committee of the American Political Science Association in 1916. The committee, whose chairman was Professor Charles Groves Haines of the University of Texas, an authority on the American judicial system, traced the teaching of civics through three phases, beginning with the study of the Constitution, proceeding to the "deductive method"--by which was meant an expansion of the scope of the earlier study to include the state constitution and, in most cases, a list of federal, state, and county officers--and eventually arriving at the "new civics," or "community civics." In the later approach, the previous procedure was practically reversed by starting with the study of community needs and then taking up the methods by which the government satisfies those needs, on the theory that "those things that are near at home are of more vital importance and should receive consideration prior to those more remote." The idea of community civics, the committee reported, was the motive force behind the movement to reorganize courses in government. (See Chapter I of Haines 1916, for a full description.)

In point of fact, history--which in the early nineties was in a fairly shaky position in the secondary schools but had become very well established by the middle teens indeed--was now being seriously challenged by civics, economics and even sociology. The latter subject--in the form of courses in "elementary sociology" or "social problems"--was taught in many high schools, particularly in the central and western states, according to a committee of the American Sociological Society. The report of the committee, which was chaired by Professor Ross L. Finney, a prominent educational sociologist at the University of Minnesota, recommended sweeping changes in the teaching of social studies in the direction of the social sciences. ("Tentative Report of the Committee on Teaching of Sociology ..." 1919, pp. 243-51.)

The new direction was symbolized by a declaration emanating from the Nebraska History Teachers Association, once one of the pillars of an extreme version of the source study movement.

> We believe our legitimate field is the field of the social sciences, of which history is one. We feel that history teachers must become willing to broaden out, must teach less of pure scientific narrative and more of history in its social aspects. This committee is of the opinion that history should be studied mostly for its utility--its bearing on the social sciences rather than for the production of expert historians. We are willing to leave that to the universities.
>
> This committee favors socializing the entire field of history; and to that end, we recommend the condensing of some of the purely history courses in order to gain time for the other social sciences. Even the pure history is to be taught from the social point of view. (History Teachers Magazine, January 1918, p. 25.)

Such views both reflected and strengthened national trends in education.

Origins and Emphases of "Social Studies"

Those who advocated a lesser role for history in favor of more attention to other social sciences helped to weaken the dominant place that history had then assumed in the curriculum. But the new direction was to be "social studies," not social science. In 1917, a quarter of a century after the Madison Conference, a new National Education Association (NEA) Committee on Social Studies issued its final report as part of a major review conducted by the NEA's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. This time the committee's chairman was not an historian, but a prominent official of the U.S. Bureau of Education, Thomas Jesse Jones. Jones was one of the first to use the term "social studies" in its present sense, both in the title of a course he had taught at Hampton Institute and in the title of a 1908 book about the Hampton program. (Krug 1969, p. 254) In a period in which "social" was widely and favorably used, as in social settlement, social gospel, social survey, social betterment, and social work, the term was a natural one, and carried with it an aura of commitment to social action. The committee which

Jones headed consisted mainly of high school principals and teachers, and of school superintendents, although one of its most influential members was the leader of the "new history," James Harvey Robinson, who had been a member of the Madison Conference as well.

The Committee on Social Studies had issued a number of preliminary reports beginning in 1913, in which the aim of the social studies was defined as "good citizenship." "Facts, conditions, theories, and activities" that failed to "contribute rather directly to the appreciation of methods of human betterment" were held to have "no claim." The committee favored recent over ancient history, American history over that of "foreign lands," and "the labors and plans [of the multitudes] rather than the pleasures and dreams of the few," thus exhibiting a thoroughly Progressive viewpoint expressed, as Edward A. Krug put it, in "the accents of James Harvey Robinson." (Krug 1969, pp. 254-355)

The committee's final report in 1917 defined the social studies as "those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups." (History Teachers Magazine, February 1917, p. 4) The report declared that history "must relate to the present interests of the pupil, or meet the needs of present growth, in addition to explaining present-day conditions and institutions according to the sociological interpretation...." (History Teachers Magazine, February 1917, p. 21) Instruction in the social studies should be organized around concrete problems of vital importance to society and of immediate interest to the pupil rather than on the basis of the formal social sciences, the report urged, stating that the social studies should contribute directly to the "social efficiency" of the student, helping him "to participate effectively in the promotion of social well-being" in the groups of which he is a member, from his own community to the "world community." (History Teachers Magazine,

February 1917, p. 4) The capstone of the proposed curriculum was to be a problems of democracy course.

Not a word was said about the use of sources, not even in criticism. So far as the Committee on Social Studies was concerned, the method might never have existed. The skills to be learned by pupils were those of good citizens participating in the building of an invigorated democratic society, not those of historians carefully interpreting evidence, developing criticism, and arriving at a synthesis. The omission of source study is particularly interesting in view of the fact that Professor Robinson had played a part in introducing sources to the high school by the publication in 1904 of a book of readings in European history, which was designed for both high school and college students and included many primary sources.

The report of the Committee on Social Studies had a significant impact on the direction of educational reform. It represented many of the deepest, most pervasive, and most characteristic viewpoints of the Progressive period. No doubt it would have been exceedingly influential in any case, but the circumstance that it was issued just before American entry into World War I created a climate favorable to its concern with personal and social immediacy and utility and what is today referred to as "relevance." While sources continued to be used in the schools, probably largely in connection with current events or as collateral reading, the source study movement itself had lost its potency and would not again become a matter of central pedagogical importance until the rise of the new social studies, in which many of the elements in the earlier movement re-emerged or were re-invented.

The Core Curriculum Movement

If source study, with its emphasis on cognition, discovery, disciplinary methodology, and a variety of instructional materials bears a strong

resemblance to the new social studies, the Core curriculum which arose in the early thirties and faded just as the curriculum reforms of the late fifties were beginning, is similar in many respects to the movement now emerging in the social studies.

The Core curriculum movement was quite diffused and therefore difficult to define, a point usually commented on by writers on the subject. However, most Core programs seemed to have been characterized by "learning activities" that were regarded as basic for all students; that cut across conventional subject matter lines, either "fusing" or disregarding them entirely; that used a relatively large block of time (some Core classes were called "block-time classes"); that provided for extensive teacher-pupil planning; and that were strongly oriented to student "needs, problems, and interests." (Alberty 1947, pp. 154-55)

The Core movement encompassed the entire curriculum; many combinations of subjects were to be found within it. But the combining of social studies and English was by far the most common pattern. Social studies or social studies and English were also joined with science, mathematics, music, art, health, home economics, shop, and various further combinations of these subjects. (Wright 1950, p. 13)

Origins of the Core Curriculum

The Core curriculum could claim a distinguished and varied ancestry. The Committee of Ten had recommended

> that the teaching of history should be intimately connected with the teaching of English; that pupils should be encouraged to avail themselves of their knowledge of ancient and modern languages; and that the study of history should be supplemented by the study of historical and commercial geography, and the drawing of historical maps. (Committee of Ten 1893, pp. 28-29)

Civil government, the conference urged, should be associated with both history and geography. Probably the Committee's recommendations encouraged the "correlation," as it was called, of subjects in the classroom long before the Core curriculum movement began.

The development of the Core curriculum seems to have been much more directly influenced by the report of the NEA Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE). Its Committee on Social Studies had recommended, it will be recalled, that the "life interests" of the pupil be the chief determinant of the selection of social studies topics. Both these documents partook of the growing interest in general education, one of whose manifestations on the college level was the organization of introductory contemporary civilization or modern problems courses. In the high school, general or basic education--that is, education to be required of all students--was occasionally referred to as "the Core curriculum." (For example, see Rapeer 1917, pp. 541-70) But the term "Core" did not come into common educational usage until around 1930.

The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education produced by CRSE in 1918 was probably one of the most influential documents in the history of American education. It defined the objectives of secondary education as "1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical character." (National Education Association 1918, pp. 10-11)

To the social studies was assigned a central role in the implementation of the Cardinal Principles.

> While all subjects should contribute to good citizenship, the social studies--geography, history, civics, and economics--should have this as their dominant aim. Too frequently, however, does mere information, conventional in value and remote in its bearing, make up the content of the social studies. History should so treat the growth of institutions that their present value may be appreciated. Geography should

> show the interdependence of men while it shows their common dependence on nature. Civics should concern itself less with constitutional questions and remote governmental functions and should direct attention to social agencies close at hand and to the informal activities of daily life that regard and seek the common good. Such agencies as child welfare organizations and consumers' leagues afford specific opportunities for the expression of civic qualities by the older pupils. (National Education Association 1918, p. 14)

The commission suggested various means by which the schools could develop "attitudes and habits important in a democracy." Among these were

> the assignment of projects and problems to groups of pupils for cooperative solution and the socialized recitation whereby the class as a whole develops a sense of collective responsibility. Both of these devices give training in collective thinking. Moreover, the democratic organization and administration of the school itself, as well as the cooperative relations of pupil and teacher, pupil and pupil, and teacher and teacher, are indispensible. (National Education Association 1918, p. 14)

Essentially, the Cardinal Principles were a product of the pre-World War I era and, as so often happens in educational reform, the period in which they were launched was very different from the period of reform which had produced them. Nevertheless, the Cardinal Principles exerted a profound effect on the schools, summarizing trends that had been gathering momentum in the previous decade and encouraging their further development in the twenties.

Nature and Practice of the Core Curriculum

The emergence of the Core curriculum movement in the early thirties represented the coalescence of a number of these developments, in the view of one of the leading proponents of Core, Harold Alberty. Alberty attributed the rise of Core not only to dissatisfaction with the traditional curriculum but to a group of closely related factors which included the activity movement in the elementary school; the experience curriculum built on direct, personal experience of students rather than on the logic of subject matter; unit teaching; teacher-pupil planning; and the search for common needs, especially the needs of adolescents. (Alberty 1947, pp. 151-54)

During the twenties there were a number of significant local ventures in curriculum reform, including the social studies, along the general lines of the Cardinal Principles. Led by a remarkable group of public school superintendents like Jesse H. Newton in Denver and Carleton Washburne in Winnetka, Illinois, the reforms affected both urban and suburban schools. In Denver, classroom teachers completely rewrote the curriculum so that it centered on the "life situations" of the students. In Winnetka, instruction in the "common essentials," including the social studies, was recast so that students proceeded at their own pace, free of the "academic lockstep."

The curriculum of the six-year high school at the Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia, was widely reported and admired; the "general course" in grades seven and eight dealt with the relationships between man and his environment and man and his culture, respectively, while grades ten and eleven comprised a two-year sequence on ancient and modern cultures, capped by a study of contemporary social and economic problems in grade twelve. The methodology at Lincoln exhibited a full range of progressive educational measures, including teacher-pupil planning, involvement with the community, independent study, group projects, and so on. (For a succinct account of Lincoln School, see Cremin 1962, pp. 280-91)

The successes, or reputed successes, of such programs helped to set the pattern for Core, which emerged in the early thirties in the wave of social reform sweeping the society. Variations of the Core were used by many of the participants in the famous Eight Year Study conducted between 1932 and 1940, in which thirty secondary institutions, ranging from public schools in slums to well-to-do private schools, agreed to experiment with reform along broad progressive principles, while over 300 colleges agreed to waive their formal entrance requirements for recommended graduates of the cooperating

schools. The study, which was conducted under the auspices of the Progressive Education Association, was financed by the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board.

During the thirties the programs developing in the Eight Year Study excited wide interest. The final report on the results, a five-volume series called Adventures in American Education, which included a study of the college careers of students who had graduated from participating schools, was published in 1942. As Lawrence A. Cremin has pointed out, the fact that the volumes were issued in the middle of a war meant that they never got the attention they deserved. Probably, also, the general decline of reform interest in the forties, as Dr. Win-The-War replaced Dr. New Deal, was an important factor in the relative indifference with which the Eight Year Study was received. In any case, the development of Core, which continued modestly during the war and spurted just afterwards in the late forties and fifties, occurred in an educational climate which had altered drastically since the thirties.

The Core Curriculum in the 1940s and 50s

By the end of the forties, about 11 percent of public junior and senior high schools enrolling over 500 pupils reported some form of a Core curriculum. The overwhelming majority of Core programs were in the junior high schools, grades seven and eight. The movement was also concentrated geographically: seven states--California, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and New York--accounted for about two thirds of the programs.

Most of the Core curriculum programs introduced in the forties just after the war were of two basic types. The most common was the unified studies Core, in which the disciplines were fused around a central theme or problem drawn from one of them. The usual combination was social studies and English. A good deal of emphasis was given to individual and group development, to the

choice of subject material based on pupil needs, and to a wide latitude for the student to decide what aspects of the central theme he wanted to study and how he wished to do so. The other type was the experience-centered Core, based on the "personal-social needs of adolescents." Sometimes the problems to be considered were delineated in advance either by the school or by the cooperative planning of teachers, parents, and students. Another pattern was more free-floating, the scope of the course being worked out in the classroom jointly by teachers and students. Information and skills were drawn from the subject areas when they were thought to be needed. (Wright 1958, pp. 11-19)

Core curriculum programs continued to grow in the fifties but the type of program changed considerably. The fifties were not conducive to bold social experimentation in education or elsewhere but rather to cautious departures from tradition. The Core curriculum programs initiated in this period tended to be of the more conservative block-time variety in which two subjects were taught, or supposed to be taught, in correlated fashion, the most common pattern being social studies and English. (Wright 1958, p. 21) By the end of the fifties almost a third of the separately organized junior high schools and over ten percent of the junior-senior high schools had some form of block-time or Core program. (Wright 1958, p. 2)

Criticism of the Core Curriculum

The Core curriculum was criticized on numerous grounds. Teachers were frequently asked to handle it without sufficient preparation. Usually a teacher was more competent in one of the subjects, resulting in the neglect of some and over emphasis of other subjects. Considerable planning time was essential and often not forthcoming. There were, of course, scheduling problems, since the time block devoted to Core was usually the fulcrum of the schedule. The teacher-pupil planning procedure sometimes resulted in either an aimless

wandering through assorted "felt needs" or a complicated procedure of manipulation either by the teacher or by some of the wilier pupils. Lack of structure often produced massive boredom. Core sometimes took on a forthrightly anti-intellectual character, while a preoccupation with individual or group adjustment ("life adjustment") could degenerate into a parody of togetherness and group-think. While most of these problems were not confined to Core, Core probably exhibited an unusually wide variety of them. Core seemed to offer opportunities both for very exciting and excellent and for very poor and boring teaching and learning.

In the barrage against the low state of American schooling in the fifties, Core was often pointed to as a prime example of the anti-intellectual, anti-disciplinary, vapid, and stultifying atmosphere which supposedly pervaded American education. Many of the new reformers who began to recast the social studies curricula in the early sixties had had little previous contact with the schools and had either never heard of Core or associated it vaguely with basket weaving. The junior high school where Core was concentrated was not of primary interest to the new reformers, who tended to concern themselves either with the elementary school grades or with the high school. Like so many previous reforms, including source study, Core became an unmovement. Now there are indications of its revival, or its re-emergence into reform consciousness in new guises.

Improving the Social Studies: Learning from the Past

These two reform movements whose history has been briefly sketched above--primary sources and Core--each produced a rich and usable variety of experience, and some notable failures. Such a short summary cannot do justice to their complexity or adequately describe the forces which produced, sustained, and

eventually ended them. But even a cursory review of them suggests that there is something to be gained from an exploration of the historical dimensions of social studies.

There seem to be at least two basic models of reform in the social studies--or such is an hypothesis worth testing. Source study represents one type, the Core curriculum another. The first is oriented to the disciplines, to cognitive skills, to the acquisition of knowledge, and to an alliance with the liberal arts colleges and universities. It sees in the student the future academic scholar. It is only tangentially concerned with the present, with affect, with social problems and social reform. The other is oriented to the fusion or the disregard of disciplines, to affective skills, to establishing a connection between the world inside and outside the school, and to an alliance with the schools of education. It sees in the student the future good citizen and--often--social reformer.

Each model has its characteristic rationale, its characteristic tendencies and its characteristic weaknesses. Each is assumed to be in conflict with the other, although they do not have to be except in their extreme versions. Each has much to contribute to the other. There is no reason, for example, why the Core curriculum cannot include the use of primary sources--in fact, it has.

Both the source study movement and the new social studies represent the first type of curricular reform that might be called the cognitive model. But source study was confined to history, while the new social studies embraced not only history--in which the use of primary sources was revived, or rather, reinvented as a curricular tool--but also the social sciences. The latter advanced their own up-to-date versions of source study in their emphases on the structure and methodology of the disciplines and on the process of inquiry and discovery. Curriculum reform in the natural sciences provided a major impetus

and exemplary organizing principles for the new social studies. (Source study had been billed as "scientific history" and often used the "laboratory method.")

In spite of their kinship, the two versions of the cognitive model exhibited many differences. For example, the new social studies took advantage of recent developments in psychology and pedagogy in specifying educational objectives, used a much more sophisticated technology, and had access to financial resources undreamed of by earlier reformers. Attention to the behavioral sciences was one of the most important differences from the earlier movement.

The second type of curricular reform, which might be called the affective model, is represented by both the Core curriculum and by the current and as yet unnamed social studies reforms. Inspired by the new romantics, the new reforms seem even more diffuse. Stressing commitment to social action, relevance, immediacy, student power in deciding what to study, opportunity for the student to "do his own thing," and interpersonal relations, the present movement is less preoccupied than was Core with the organization of the curriculum itself, but it shares many of the typical concerns of the Core movement. Like Core, it seems most highly developed in private schools.

The leadership of each type of curriculum reform seems to remain largely ignorant of the work of its predecessors. Among the creators of the new social studies, only a few, like Hilda Taba, earlier participated in such Core-related efforts as the Eight-Year Study, and most knew little or nothing of either Core or of source study. The newer reformers seem quite unaware of their historical antecedents, and are thereby cut off from a body of experience which could be highly relevant to their concerns.

While it is possible to identify basic curricular models, history certainly does not repeat itself with exactitude. Each model operates in a specific and different historical context, as part of a larger curriculum reform effort, and

in response to broad societal concerns. Such is the pace of change in educational thought, however, that by the time the reforms have been rather widely accepted in principle if not in practice, a new wave of change in response to new social concerns has begun and the old reform ideas seem outmoded. Today as schools are still reviewing and adopting materials developed in the sixties, social critics are calling for different changes. No doubt an even newer brand of social studies reform will arise in the next few years. Probably the signs of it are already appearing.

It is relatively easy to discern what reform movements were talked about at national conferences, written about by national leaders, and discussed at meetings and workshops of teachers. But how the successive waves of reform have actually affected the classroom is a subject about which we are, as yet, poorly informed. We know very little about what typical social studies classrooms have been like historically, or how they have evolved. Much of the literature deals with very few examples and focuses on conditions assumed to require reform, or on the reforms themselves. We know almost nothing about how change in the social studies actually comes about; from whence it arises; what forces impede and further it; and how successive waves of reform actually affect classroom teaching and learning. If we had more knowledge, we might even be able to identify school systems or types of schools that are bellwethers of change in much the way certain precincts are predictors of voting behavior. We need intensive studies of the development of the social studies in specific localities, states, and regions, using various types of sources, such as school records, planbooks, student papers, taped reminiscences of pupils and teachers, travelers' accounts, and so on. Methods of classroom observation such as those developed by Arno Bellack may be adapted to historical analysis, a promising line of research which some of Bellack's students are already following.

It is out of a variety of such studies that a full history of the social studies will arise--a history which can make the past usable instead of useless to us in shaping our future.

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The study shows that graduates of the 30 schools did somewhat better in college than a matched group of students from traditional schools. The report contains an interesting summary of conditions found necessary for successful innovation. A follow-up study of the schools and of their graduates could tell us much about the long-term impact of educational reforms.

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